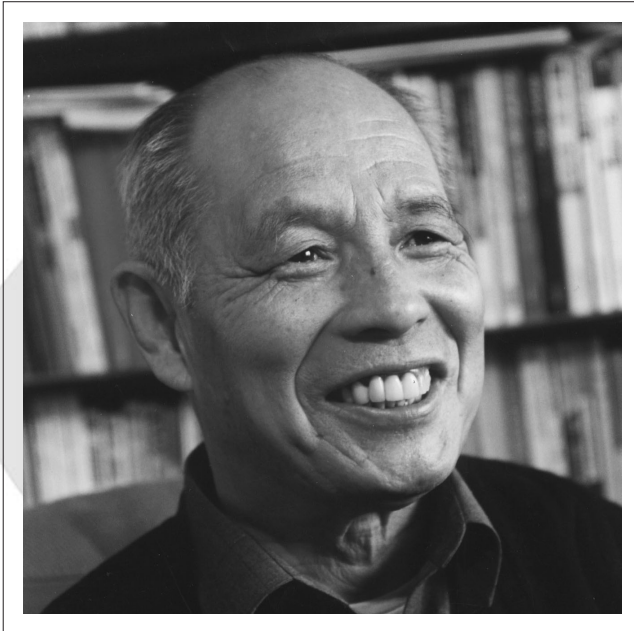


AN INTERVIEW WITH  
**PAK CH'ANG-UK**



PAK CH'ANG-UK  
PROFESSOR, HISTORY  
YANBIAN UNIVERSITY, CHINA

The Review of Korean Studies, in cooperation with Chŏngshin munhwa yŏn'gu (Korean Studies Quarterly) features interviews with eminent Korean studies scholars worldwide. In this third interview, we introduce Prof. Pak Ch'ang-uk (Piao Changyu), the founder of the Minjok yŏn'guso (National Institute) at Yanbian University, China. His contributions to the development of Chosŏnjok\* history and Korean studies in China are extraordinary while his Chosŏnjok perspective in Korean studies is valuable. The interview was conducted by Dr. Yu Pyŏng-ho (Liu Binghu), a Professor at the National Institute in Yanbian University, in Korean and was translated by Albert Han (Ph.D. candidate in Political Science, Univ. of California at Berkeley).

The Editorial Board of the Review of Korean Studies would like to express our deepest gratitude to Prof. Pak Ch'ang-uk for graciously agreeing to the interview. All the footnotes are added by the editor. We apologize for the unexpected change of the order of interview. The interview with Dr. Mikhail Pak will be featured in the next issue. - Editor

\* Like all ethnic minorities, a number of terms are used to define the Chinese of Korean ancestry or Koreans in China from within and with out. Although the popular English terminology is Korean-Chinese, the *Review of Korean Studies* has decided to use the Korean term Chosŏnjok hoping it will not only express the duality of their status, but also acknowledge the process of their self-identification.

## **An Interview with PAK CH'ANG-UK**

### **The Early Years**

**Question:** While studying in Seoul, I have heard many people speak of you. However, it seemed that they did not know any of the specifics of your personal background, just the extent of your academic growth. Please feel free to answer my questions without any hesitations. First, I would like to know in brief about your growth process and about your life in general. I believe the academic development of a historian studying first generation Korean immigrants to China will shed light on understanding the difficult times they faced.

**Answer:** My family moved from Musan, Hamkyŏngbuk-do in North Korea, to the area currently known as Yŏngil (Yanji) County, in 1891. I was the youngest of 4 brothers. My eldest brother had worked at the Hoeryong mine in North Korea during the colonial time, and after the Korean liberation in 1945, he remained there. My second brother entered the Chinese Peoples Liberation Army, went to North Korea right before the Korean War in 1950, and has remained there ever since. My third brother was taken by the Japanese army before Korean liberation and is missing to this day. I was able to meet my eldest and second eldest brothers in P' yŏngyang in 1994 after 40 years. My brothers and I have suffered the great hardship of separation.

**Question:** Please tell me a bit about your childhood years and your early education.

**Answer:** Since I was the youngest, my parents lavished their attention on me. In 1935 I entered Chaoyangchuan Primary School in my hometown. At first I studied in the Korean language but from 1939 all

classes were entirely in Japanese. School authorities did not allow even a single word of Korean. Each time Korean was spoken, a wooden tag was given to the offending student and the student with the most tags had to clean the outhouse. Students stressed by this punishment would run outside the school gates and scream loudly in Korean and return; however, if they were caught they were immediately given corporal punishment.

In my class, there were more girls than boys, but since everyone was five or six years older than me I was treated kindly, like a younger sibling. In 1940 I graduated from the primary school and entered the Sixth Provincial High School in Killim (Jilin). It was formerly Wenguang School, a private school founded by French missionaries, but after the Manchurian Incident broke out, the Manchukuo government expelled the French missionaries and changed the schools name. This school was the only provincial high school for Koreans in Killim. The only two courses of study were Applied Chemistry and Electrical Engineering, and most of the teachers were Japanese, with some Chinese who had graduated from Hualbin Institute of Technology or elsewhere. However, there was only one Korean, an art instructor, who had graduated from a college in Japan. As for the students, most were Koreans. There were six Chinese students, but all of them were children of rich families in Killim. There were also five Japanese students but since they were children of settler families, they were relatively poor. I entered this schools second class in Applied Chemistry.

**Question:** Although I personally never had to experience forced education under Japanese colonial rule, I have been told that there was still a tacit education of Korean minority awareness in the midst of this. Please tell me more about this.

**Answer:** When I entered the primary school, Manchukuo had already been established and thus there could be no public anti-Japanese propaganda. Although the teachers taught us bits about Korea during History and Geography class, for second generation immigrants born in Bukkando (North Qiantao) like us, these were simply opportunities to vaguely learn about our motherland and Korea remained rather foreign to us. When I was in the third grade of the pri-

mary school, the Anti-Japanese United Force crushed a Japanese force in Ando (Antu) County, and a brother of one of my classmates was killed in that battle on the Japanese side. The school administration made a big deal of observing a memorial for him, but I remember that the Korean students were happy in their minds about the victory of the Korean independence armies allied with the Chinese in anti-Japanese campaigns. At that time, people called Kim Il-sung's army as Kim Il-sung's Independence Army.

Afterwards, when I entered the high school, the situation changed drastically. Until then, Koreans in Killim had retained strong nationalistic sentiments, and, in the dormitories, the students from Killim publicly denounced Japan. The first fall after I entered the school, the students were mobilized to help in the construction of a road running from Killim to Hwajŏn (Huadian). After two days of working, we eventually reached Hwajŏn. In actuality this was forced labor. After returning to the school, the upper level students criticized the school authorities, saying they were enacting policies to keep us ignorant, and started a strike that went for four days.

Although police and gendarmes practically lived at the school, at night students would meet secretly in the dorms to denounce the school authorities. The strike eventually ended in failure due to the betrayal of a student named O Chŏn-muk, and he eventually gained the nickname of O Chum-mul (Urine water).

Other than this incident there were several protests by the students, but of them the one I recall most vividly is the strike we had when I was in the third grade of high school to rally against the Japanese dormitory superintendent who used to take students meal money.

At that time, there was an anti-Japanese booklet titled "Ch' ŏnhwang-gigwansŏl" (Theory of Institutionalization of the Emperor)<sup>1</sup> disguised as a Math textbook that made its rounds among the students, and one day a Chinese teacher caught me reading that book. Although the

1. This theory argued that the emperor was not above the state and, thus, he must also obey the laws of the state. First argued by Minobe Tatsukichi (美濃部達吉), the theory reflected a tradition of liberal interpretation on Emperorism, which became the mainstream in the Period of Taishō Democracy. On the other hand, Hozumi Yatsukas (穂積八束) theory that the emperor had moral authority that transcended the state and law became the theoretical basis for Japanese Facism after the 1930s.

teacher scolded me, saying a student should study and not be preoccupied by politics, the teacher never reported me to the school authorities. Through a series of such small events, I learned about my homeland and nation, and became aware that the education policies enacted by the Japanese were intended to make Koreans into slaves.

**Question:** Korea was liberated soon after you graduated. What was your situation like?

Answer: I graduated in December of 1944 from high school and was assigned as a junior engineer in Manchu Electric and Chemical Factory. At that time, because cotton did not grow in Manchuria, the factory produced artificial fabrics, as well as munitions supplies such as airplane fuel and artificial rubber. It was the predecessor to Killim Chemical Factory that exists today. The Japanese were so eager to get this factory running that they even brought over hydraulic presses from Germany by submarine. I had worked as a trainee for the factory for four months before graduation. After that I was assigned to a carbide factory, receiving a pay of 35 *yuan* per month. The Manchu Electric and Chemical Factory was opened on a trial basis in August 1945 but the Japanese surrendered only a few days afterwards.

The factories occupying Soviet forces set up a machine gun at the front gate of the factory, and after forcing Japanese engineers and Chinese laborers to dismantle the factory facilities, put the parts in a train headed to the Soviet Union. The six Koreans in the factory, including myself, were forced to work removing the machinery from the factory. A Chinese engineer told me that an Association for Korean Residents had been organized in downtown Killim, and that I should emerge from hiding among the Japanese to seek out the Association. When we went to the Association for Korean Residents and identified ourselves, they gave us armbands that said Association for Korean Residents in Russian and told us to show the armbands to the Soviet officer in charge of our factory. When we returned to the factory with the armbands and stated that we were Koreans, the Soviet officer wrote us a certifying document that allowed us to return to our hometowns. Because the trains were filled with refugees, it took three days for me to eventually return to my hometown of Choyangch'ŏn (Chaoyan gchuan).

**Question:** After the liberation, many Koreans in China returned back to Korea. Did you not think about returning to Korea yourself?

**Answer:** At that time, although my eldest brother was in Hoeryŏng, and his wife was in Chohyangchon, I had no other family in Korea. When the Korean Voluntary Army and Anti-Japanese United Forces began land reform in Yŏnbyŏn (Yanbian), they accepted the private property rights and did not confiscate land from Koreans who had borrowed loans from the Oriental Development Company to buy it. The reason why many Koreans returned home from Guomindang (the National Party) occupied territory at that time is that the Guomindang confiscated land from all Korean farmers who had borrowed money from the Oriental Development Company, saying that the land had been Japanese property. Our family, who had managed to keep our land, decided to remain in China.

Because I had nothing to do in my hometown, in 1946 I went to apply to enter Yanbian University as I had heard they were accepting applications. However, because the conflict with the Guomindang was imminent, the government halted all applications and I could do nothing but return. At that time, young people thought that joining the army was the only way to rise in status. So for that reason I entered the Yanji Guards. However, I had to leave the army because I caught a contagious disease.

After one year, I reentered the army and was assigned as a military engineer directly under the Jilin Engineering Corps, but later I was transferred to the 10th division (47th battalion) which had the largest number of Koreans among the units around. At that time, military engineers, together with artillerymen, were the only skilled soldiers in the Red Army; only those with a certain level of learning could become a military engineer. Our army was involved in the Liaoshen theatre of operations (遼瀋戰役) for the liberation of the North East region (editors note: Manchuria) as well as the Pingjin theatre (平津戰役) for the liberation of Pukkyŏng (Beijing), and afterwards crossed the Yangtze River to Honam (Hunan) Province, and liberated the area upto Chungkyŏng (Chongqing) in Sachŏn (Sichuan) Province.

**Question:** After the civil war between the nationalists and communists you were involved with, you were assigned to North Korea to participate in the Korean War. Tell me what your feelings were at that time.



**Answer:** After liberating Pukkyong (Beijing), there were many Koreans in our corps who said, As we have finished our duty for the sake of the Chinese revolution, we should return back to Korea. There were even those who ran away from the unit to return to Korea. The military notified us that as half of China was still controlled by the Guomindang, we had to remain until they were completely eradicated, and that we Koreans would be able to return in due time to our motherland. Not long after liberating Chungkyŏng (Chongqing), the division above us, citing an order for emergency movement, put us in a freight train and took us to the North East region. After arriving in Shinuiju, knowing we had arrived at the Korean border, we celebrated loudly. Although it was the first time we had set foot in our motherland, somehow it did not feel foreign. The Koreans that we saw at the train station seemed to be at ease. We changed into PLA (Peoples Liberation Army) uniforms in the train and soon went to Songrim. Because we were completely inculcated in Socialist ideology, we felt it was our sacred duty to liberate Korea. In particular, those from Tongman (East Manchuria) proclaimed Lets catch Kim Il-ro, [a pro-Japanese Korean] and those from Namman (South Manchuria) shouted Lets catch Chŏng Il-kwon, [a South Korean general], not thinking that it was a fratricidal war, but rather thinking that Korea was a puppet government of the U.S. being run by the pro-Japanese. The people in Korea probably felt similarly about this point. We cannot judge history in terms of todays national reconciliation point of view.



## Commencing Study of Korean History

**Question:** I understand that after sustaining an injury in the Korean War, you returned to your hometown to enroll in Yanbian University's History department. Please relate your motivations for studying Korean history as well as your life at Yanbian University.

**Answer:** Yanbian University was founded in 1948 on the desire of Koreans in China to establish our peoples university unaided, and thus was the first university to be founded by an ethnic minority in China. Despite the fact it was a national university due to the state ownership under Socialism, its initial condition at founding was very poor. The school building was a section of the barracks used by the Kwantung Army, and the educational infrastructure, such as the library, was very insufficient. Lectures had to often be conducted by members of the first graduating class and there were many students who had only graduated from primary school. However, teachers and students alike had the pride of knowing they were at the best university for Koreans in China and everything was conducted with a vigorous spirit.

I had already studied Chemistry in high school. Yet, by the time I had left the military and was taking college examinations, I had already forgotten most of even basic knowledge about Chemistry. So I had decided to major in Political Science, but a friend who had already entered university strongly advised me to study History. For that reason I entered the second class of Yanbian University's History department in 1954 although I was not initially interested in Korean history. At that time, the professors were scholars who had graduated from Japanese universities who were nationalist activists, and they had a wide knowledge of Korean history. For example, Prof. O Bong-yup, a former reporter from the *Mansŏn Ilbo*, was researching Palhae history, and it was under his direction that Princess Chŏng-hyo's burial grounds at Yukchŏngsan (Liuding Mountain) in Tonhwa (Dunhua) were excavated. Furthermore, Prof. Choe Mun-ho, formerly a chief organizer of the Chinese Communist Party in Yŏngil County through the Shanghai faction of the Chosŏn Communist Party, and Prof. Chi Hŭi-kyŏm, who was from the Marxist-Leninist faction both had considerable knowledge of ancient Korean history. Even until my time at Yanbian University, it

was possible to engage in lively academic research (although not comparable to current times), as the Chinese government allowed for academic diversity and freedom of discussion under the slogan that a hundred flowers blossom, and a hundred scholars express (*baekhwajebang* and *baekkajangmyōng* 百花齊放 · 百家爭鳴). The government focused on economic development rather than on political activities. The professors of the history department at that time were researching important topics in Korean history such as Kija, who were thought to be the founder of Kija Chosŏn, the territory of Old Chosŏn, and the kingdoms of Koguryŏ and Palhae. I participated eagerly in the various seminars offered by my department, but among these, I was most interested in the national liberation movement. So at every opportunity, I searched out and questioned Prof. Chi Hŭi-kyŏm and others like him who had a wide knowledge of modern Korean history; these professors relayed to me their extensive personal experiences which revealed facts that could not be found in any of the available literature. Regrettably my notes from those meetings were lost during the Cultural Revolution.

Because I entered university later than the others, I became obsessed with studying much as a thirsty man craves water. As a result, I received one of three gold medals awarded to the top three students at graduation, and received my diploma directly from the head of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, Chu Tŏk-hae (Zhu Dehai). And upon the recommendation of my Professors, I was assigned to lecture on Chinese history at my school. After graduation, I remained at school as a teaching assistant for an archaeological excavation project run by Prof. Chi. However, as I had no interest in archaeology, I moved to the Institute for Modern Chinese History and under Prof. Chi, conducted research on the anti-Japanese nationalist movement. In 1957, I went to East China Normal School University (華東師範大學), and under the direction of the famous Prof. O Taek (Wu Ze) studied historical research methodology. After 2 years of further study, I returned to Yanbian University to begin my research of Korean history in earnest.

**Question:** I understand Prof. Chi Hŭi-kyŏm was the most influential person in your life. Could you tell me a bit about him?

**Answer:** To begin speaking of Prof. Chi, I cannot help but mention his father, Mr. Chi Chang-hoe. After the March First movement in 1919, Mr. Chi was the director of communications for the Righteous Army at Bukkando. When Japanese suppression began in 1920, after going to Russian Maritime Province to acquire weapons, he arrived late and lost contact with his army, and thereafter spent three years as a mute. Under the influence from his father Prof. Chi Hŭi-kyŏm had anti-Japanese nationalist sentiments from an early age. Afterwards, Mr. Chi Chang-hoe went to Noryong then returned to Yoha (Yaohei) County, Hŭknyonggang (Hei Rongjiang) Province, to be a herbalist, but maintained his strong nationalist ideology. When Choe Yong-kŏn came to Yoha County in 1927, he sought out Mr. Chi and later referred to him as godfather. And through him, Choe could make the Yoha guerrilla unit. After the liberation, Choe Yong-kŏn escorted Mr. Chi Chang-hoe to North Korea. From what I have heard, he even served as a Central Committee member of the Democratic Party, which Choe Yong-kon headed as party chief.

Prof. Chi Hŭi-kyŏm was raised in a nationalist family background, but during his years at Killims Fourth High School in Yŏng' an (Ningan), he was exposed to Marxist theory and became a Socialist. He joined the Marxist-Leninist faction of the Chosŏn Communist Party and became an officer in Yŏng' an' s regional organization. Chu Tŏk-hae, who became the first head of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture, served under him at that time. He joined the Chinese Communist Party in 1931 and while serving as a party officer, was arrested by the Japanese police. After being discharged from prison around 1933, he lived in retirement in Yŏngil until the liberation. Even during that time, he was marked as an anti-Japanese instigator and was arrested three times, and was in jail even at the moment of the liberation. After the liberation, he became an officer in the Chinese Communist Party but during the rectification trial conducted at Yongchŏng' s cadre training school, he was stripped of his party membership due to some of his past actions and came to Yanbian University. At first he could not even lecture, but thanks to the efforts of Chu Tŏk-hae, he began lecturing on modern Korean history from when I was in my third year. He not only passed on to me a great deal of information about the nationalist movement that cannot be found in any book, but also gave me data

that was very difficult to access at that time. He is one teacher I will never forget with regard to my research on Korean history.

**Question:** You started your study of Korean history under the direction of Prof. Chi Hŭi-kyŏm, but at that time, what position did scholars of Korean History have in Chinese academia?



**Answer:** It still largely remains so, but at that time the term Korean history was not used, but rather “Chosŏn history.” To note, Chinese universities currently use the title Korean History in their listing of the courses after the China-Korea treaty of 1992, and the title “Chosŏn History” was used before then. This is not an ideological effect but rather a matter of convention.

The 1950s, when I started studying and teaching as a university professor, was the height of the Cold War and there was a great effort at revising history in Marxist theoretical terms. World history was more or less directly translated from Soviet University texts and thus did not allow a diverse historical perspective. The Korean history portion of this World historical view was squarely based on P’yŏngyang’s point of view and there were very few researchers of Korean history among Chinese scholars. Although the professors of Yanbian University History department were researching Korean history from a modern nationalist view, they focused on the Koguryŏ and Palhae periods for which many historical sites are readily accessible in Chinese territory. For this reason you can say Yanbian University was the origin of research on Korean history within China. Through the steady research efforts of Yanbian professors, there was expansion into Killim Province and other regions, but even now, research on Korean history and Korean philosophy is centered at Yanbian University. Although after the China-Korea treaty many universities in China founded Korean Studies Institutes, to be sure, most Chinese scholars are either of Korean

descent or are graduates of Yanbian University. How can one conduct research without the knowledge of the Korean language?

**Question:** After getting a position at Yanbian University, can you intimate the faculty's research and livelihoods?

**Answer:** This is a well-known fact but from the mid-1950s, political campaigns in China went on ceaselessly. As soon as I began my professional career, the Anti-Rightist Movement commenced. The Movement targeted intellectuals that had expressed opposition to the current Party's politics, and although there was not the physical danger as in the Cultural Revolution, those marked as Right Wingers did not escape this false label until after the Cultural Revolution. Most simply, those marked as being Rightist could not lecture or conduct research. Because of this, most faculty members became very cautious of being marked as a rightist, which prevented them from concentrating on lectures or research, and as a result professors including me became sucked into political action without knowing it.

Furthermore, at this time historical research began to be centered around the history of the Chinese Communist Party. If I publicly said I wanted to research Korean history, there was the possibility that I could be marked as a national secessionist and thus I said I was researching the history of revolutionary struggle of Korean soldiers in the Chinese Communist Party or the history of the Yanbian branch of the Chinese Communist Party, while researching the history of the Korean nationalist liberation movement. Thus I could only gather and analyze data, and was unable to actually publish work.

As I mentioned previously, there were some Korean professors in the History department who had participated in the nationalist liberation movement, and if these scholars had been able to research the Korean nationalist movement there would no doubt have been incredible progress, but due to the circumstances they avoided even speaking of their past experiences and focused on researching ancient Korean history. Because these individuals had been exposed to Classical Chinese studies from their early age, they were no doubt well suited to researching ancient Korean history for which all sources were written in Classical Chinese language. They probably wanted to approach their

topics of study from innate nationalist motivations, but the fact was that their past experiences made them especially sensitive to contemporary political movements. However, as I was already a member of the Chinese Communist Party I felt I had nothing to fear and as I also wanted to continue my interest in the history of the Korean liberation movement, I decided to research the history of the Yanbian branch of the Chinese Communist Party. However, this eventually became the direct instrument that led me to research the history of the Korean nationalist liberation movement.

At that time, research funds for professors was next to nothing. So although I knew exactly where the people engaged in the nationalist movement lived, I could not go and visit them for lack of funds. You may wonder why I did not go on my own money, but at that time a professors salary was hardly enough to make a subsistence living. I made 54 *yuan* per month after graduation, but because I was living separately from my wife, it was like having to provide for 2 households. Besides my wife, I was providing for my elderly mother as well my nephews from my two brothers who had gone to Korea. It was basically impossible for me to pay my own research expenses.

### **Research on Chosonjok History and the History of the Korean Nationalist Movement**

**Question:** You are pointing out a very important issue. Indeed, it makes me think that academia cannot in the end be separated from the current political situation. The period when you began your research on the history of the Korean nationalist movement coincides with the high tide of political campaigns in China. To what extent was research allowed?

**Answer:** As soon as the Anti-Rightist Movement ended, the Great Leap Forward Movement settled in. The State Committee of National Affairs (國家民族事務委員會) decided to examine the history of ethnic minorities together with the Chinese Academy of Social Science (中國社會科學院). Thus, the Chinese Academy of Social Science, Beijing University, and Jilin University designated experts to Yanbian

University to organize History undergraduate students and to survey the history and society of the Chosŏnjok. By the time I returned from East China Normal School University, the survey was already completed and the data was being analyzed. When I was involved in this project and conducted research on establishing a systematic history of the Chosŏnjok, the Northeast Regional Party History Compilation Committee was established, and Yanbian University selected me as a researcher for one year. At this time, the Compilation Committee possessed a tremendous amount of material left behind by the Japanese, including confidential Party documents. Here I pored over the materials and made notes like a thirsty man drinking from a well, foregoing food and sleep. When I returned home I had more than a trunk full of notes, which you can say became the foundation for all the subsequent research thereafter. I proposed to revise the existing inadequate history of Yanbian Province using these data as well as the survey data on the history and society of the Chosŏnjok. In 1961, the Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture government selected Ko Yŏng-il, Hŏ Tae-chin, and Han Chung-kwang, as well as myself, as members of the Chosŏnjok History Compilation Committee. However, at the time, due to the influence of leftist ideology, the Committee was struggling with conflicts over questions such as whether the Chosŏn Communist Party activities would be included as part of Chosŏnjok history, how to judge the nationalist movement, and how to deal with the relationship between Korea and the Chosŏnjok. One person even accused me as being a nationalist to top level officials. However, through the intervention of Im Min-ho, the President of Yanbian University (who was from the Marxist-Leninist faction), we were able to compromise on such sensitive points and in 1962 put out a rough draft. The following year, we publish

**Question:** When you first started your research, the topic you selected was the history of the Chosŏnjok. What in your opinion is the relationship between Korean history and Chosŏnjok history?

**Answer:** When I first started my research, I simply started with the history of Chosŏnjok in China. But after seeing material that showed nationalist liberation movement participants shouting “*Manse* (Long

Live) Korea,” I was in quite a dilemma. Within the literature field, there was a problem of whether *Arirang* should be considered solely belonging to the Chosŏnjok. At first, the standard, which even the government agreed to, was that Korean activists who died on Chinese soil were considered as part of Chosŏnjok history, while those who returned to Korea after the liberation were considered as part of Korean history. However, independence activists like An Chung-kŭn and Shin Chae-ho who died in China, as well as the Korean provisional government, were difficult to categorize according to this criterion. The proposed solution was to highlight the duality of the history of the Chosŏnjok. In other words, they are at once part of Korean history from the Korean perspective and part of Chosŏnjok history from the Chosŏnjok perspective. Thus, Chosŏnjok history can be seen as part of modern Korean history. Documents of the Manzhouo Provincial Committee of China from the 1930s accepted the duality of Chosŏnjok history, stating the Chosŏnjok had to struggle for not only the liberation of Korea, but also their own freedom. In reality, the Chosŏnjok not only struggled for the independence of their motherland, but also their self-government within China. Here there was no distinction drawn between nationalists and Communists. The term Chosŏnjok was established after liberation, thus before then these people could not be affirmed as Korean or Chosŏnjok. This peculiarity of Chosŏnjok, common among immigrants, is thought to be frequently found among the people who emigrated after their nation has modernized. At first there was some opposition to this idea but it is now accepted as true in a variety of other academic fields as well as in history.

**Question:** You stated that you researched Chosŏnjok history as part of Korean history. Then was there another research institution solely for Korean history at Yanbian University?

**Answer:** Establishing a university was a long-cherished hope of the Chosŏnjok. Thus, after the liberation and in the midst of the Civil War, a variety of Chosŏnjok intellectuals were gathered to found Yanbian University. At the founding, faculty members, who did not even receive a salary but rather a few bags of rice, set out to lecture purely from their own sense of responsibility. In this difficult situation, the fact that



the Korean language department and the history department were established from the beginning shows how much nationalist motive was responsible for the university's establishment. Faculty members of the history department poured much of their energy into Korean history in particular. Faculties gathered and analyzed data on their own, the most representative example being the study of the historical Palhae site at Yukchöngsan in Tonhwa. Students participated in these excavations and analyses, meaning they could truly experience history firsthand. The Palhae and Koguryö relics they collected at various sites were moved to the Yanbian Historical Museum (延邊歷史博物館) after the Cultural Revolution. Political activities such as the Anti-Rightist Movement greatly limited the progress of the research, and eventually this research was destroyed little by little during the Cultural Revolution. However, for first generation researchers such as Pak Chinsök, Kim Kwang-su, Pang Hak-pong, and myself, this experience allowed us to gain basic research skills. After the Cultural Revolution, the Institute of Korean Issues (朝鮮問題研究所) was established and research on history, philosophy, and economics began in earnest in the School of History and graduate level research fellows began to be recruited in 1982. As for academic organization, the Chinese Society of Korea History Studies was founded and published a journal, *Research on Korean History*. I personally started to teach an elective class on Chosönjok history and in 1984 established the National Institute (民族研究所). In 1985, we began to accept applications for Masters degree students in Chosönjok history. In this way Yanbian University prepared two institutions, the Institute of Korean Issues for the study of the Korean peninsula, and the National Institute for research on Chosönjok in China. In 1995, both of these institutes, following the School of Korean Language, initiated the doctoral program at Yanbian University. Currently, there are about ten to fifteen scholars studying Korean history and about that many Ph.D. students. However, the fact Korean history as well as Chosönjok history are both electives in the History department means that these subjects are not considered important, and thus this situation must be remedied as soon as possible in the future.

**Question:** Your first publication in the *Yönbyön taehak hakpo* (Journal of Yanbian University) is “Iljeüi chosönjok nongmin e taehan

‘chagyŏngnongch’ angjŏng’ chŏngch’aek yŏn’ gu” (Research on the Japanese Policy of Making of Self-Cultivating Farms for Chosŏnjok Peasants). At that time, I understand there was very little research other than the history of the revolutionary struggle. Please speak briefly about the research being conducted at that time as a whole.

**Answer:** When I was attending primary school, Chinese called Koreans second class citizens and even the stool pigeons of the Japanese. These incidents continued occasionally after the liberation, and even existed in the thought among officers leading the anti-Japanese army such as Chu Po-chung (Chu Paochung). At that time the writing of a British historian, F. C. Jones, was translated and published, which argued that Japanese occupation of Manchuria had a positive influence and that Koreans in Manchuria were lucky.<sup>2</sup> I tried to reveal that the loaning of capital to Korean sharecroppers by the Japanese colonial company was no more profitable than direct land ownership, once the principal and interest rates were considered. This held true historically as well as through economic analysis. Thus, I concluded that Koreans in Manchuria, who may externally have been seen as second class citizens, were no more than third class citizens, and the majority of Manchuria who were Chinese would actually be second class citizens.

**Question:** You just described the prejudice of Chinese against Koreans in Manchuria. It seems to me that even within the Korean history field, Chosŏnjok and Chinese scholars have differing points of view. What do you think about this issue?

**Answer:** Of course there are differences. As I mentioned, at Yanbian and other universities, Chosŏnjok scholars researching Korean history were motivated by nationalist sentiments, while Chinese scholars gained academic curiosity and interest in learning the Korean language, and then began to study Korean history. Professors Yang So-chŏn (Yang Shaoquan) and Yang Tong-pang (Yang Tongfang) were two examples of the latter but such cases are still very rare. For Yanbian University and Chosŏnjok scholars, Korean history will always be the most significant topic of research, but this is not true for the Chinese scholar. Also,

among Chinese scholars there exists a historical tradition of China-centric and ethnocentric theorizing. For example, among Chosŏnjok, the kingdoms of Koguryŏ and Palhae are included and researched as Korean history, while on the other hand Chinese scholars use specialized words such as “*chogong*” (tributary system) to include not only these periods as Chinese history, but any and all histories that once existed in the territory currently marked as China. Furthermore, in research on cultural exchange, Chosŏnjok scholars emphasize interconnectedness, while Chinese scholars only focus on the Chinese influence on Korea. Also, Chosŏnjok scholars see the Chinese government aid to Korean freedom fighters and the Chosŏn Voluntary Army as an international alliance, while Chinese scholars simply see them as international fronts under the Chinese auspices. Such circumstances result not only from a lack of analyses of historical circumstances and over exaggeration as well as over reliance on documentation, but also from wrong-headed thinking caused by traditionally held beliefs as well as a mentality of superiority toward minority ethnicities. These differences will exist as long as nationalism exists, but I expect these differences can be reduced through constant intercultural exchange.

**Question:** In your case, I am guessing that the Cultural Revolution started right around when you began your research in earnest. Were you also a victim of intimidation at that time?

**Answer:** Actually, right before the Cultural Revolution I referred to Kang Saeng (Kang Sheng), who at that time held the reins of power in the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, as an opportunistic leftist. I also accused Im Pyo (Lin Biao) as overemphasizing his own historical role. For these sins I was labelled as a counter-revolutionary. Once the Cultural Revolution started, I was put in charge of writing a report on the personal history of Chu Tŏk-hae, Governor of Yanbian Korean Autonomous Prefecture. And after investigation of his past, I concluded there was no problem in his personal background. For this the Red Guards labeled me as Chu Tŏk-haes partner in nationalist separatism. In particular, my crimes included mentioning Kim Il-

sung in the Introduction of the History of Chosŏnjok, calling Tong Changrong, the head of the Special Committee of Eastern Manchuria, who lead the Minsaengdan incident<sup>3</sup>, a radical leftist and arguing that land reform went too far. I was eventually expelled to Hwaryong (Helong) County for thought restructuring through labor. A half-year later, I was brought to Yanbian University by the Red Guards under house arrest. I eventually was sent back to Hwaryong County but thankfully due to my long educational service I was not forced to labor but instead was sent to different junior high schools as an educator. In 1978, after 10 years, I finally returned to Yanbian University.

**Question:** How did you conduct research while banished to the countryside during the Cultural Revolution?

**Answer:** When the Cultural Revolution started, the Red Guards invaded and searched my house and took all of my material that I had gathered over many long years. When I was banished, I had to sell over 11 carloads of books as junk. While in banishment, I could not even imagine continuing my research. It was impossible to think of research in the deep state of depression that I was in. When I returned, the women who worked in the cafeteria returned some of my books that they had kept hidden away. Of the notes that were taken from me by the Red Guard, I only could retrieve 10 books. Even after the Cultural Revolution ended, I had deep misgivings about whether or not to resume my research.

**Question:** After the Cultural Revolution, you established the foundations for the Chosŏnjok history discipline through wide ranging research from the immigration of the Chosŏnjok to the history of the national liberation movement. If I am correct, at the time I was your research assistant for my Masters degree, and you took us to Pak-ssi (Pak-surname) village sites in areas such as Yonyŏng (Liaoning) Province and Habuk (Hupei) Province. After investigating these sites, you first proposed the Ming-Qing transition as the time of the first

3. The bloody persecutions by the Chinese communists against Korean nationalists and residents in Manchuria on alleged charges of cooperation with the Japanese.

immigration of Koreans to China. As this line of thinking is now becoming widely accepted in academic circles, please speak briefly about the situation at that time.

**Answer:** Research on the history, culture, and arts of the Chosŏnjok began in earnest after the end of the Cultural Revolution. In particular, opinions on the starting point of the history of the Chosŏnjok were diverse and in conflict. There were theories placing the beginning at the arrival of Koreans 100 years ago, at the Koguryŏ period, or at the time of the Yuan Dynasty after the Mogol invasions of Korea; however, none of these theories had any conclusive persuasive evidence. I believed that although many Koreans immigrated to China from ancient times, the standard for the origin of the Chosŏnjok had to be set based on nationality recorded in the household registers. This is why in spring of 1986 I took research assistants to the Pak-ssi villages in Yonyŏng Province and Habuk Province to engage in research of those societies. After discovering that the inhabitants of these villages were descendants of those kidnapped during the Invasion of the Qing against Korea in 1636), that they still preserved their national sentiments, and that they were registered as Chosŏnjok, I proposed the Ming-Qing transition period as the start of the history of Chosŏnjok in China. Some scholars believed they were already assimilated as Chinese, and that local government authorities argued that they changed their nationality in the household registers as Chosŏnjok so they could have two children; however, because they were already considered Manchurian before their status revision to Chosŏnjok, they already had the benefit of being able to have two children. In a country such as China controlled by a vast ethnic majority, the language and cultural adaptation by ethnic minorities is an inevitable tendency. However, I found during the process of my investigation that national consciousness, which lies deep under changing externalities and is perhaps the most unchanging factor in the adaptive process, is maintained for a very long period of time. For this reason, I believe the concept of *han minjok* (Korean people) needs to be revised anew.

**Question:** I want to change the topic for just a moment. In Korea, I think it is fair to say you are the most well known of all the scholars in

China studying modern Korean history. When was the first time you visited Korea?

**Answer:** The first time was in 1989, when I participated in the International Conference on the Korean National Independence Movement sponsored by the National Institute of Korean History (formerly Korean History Compilation Committee). As I was second generation immigrant born in China, aside from when I went to Korea during the Korean War as a soldier, that was the first time as a scholar. On one hand, I was moved and impressed by Korean scholars earnest attitudes and ample research, but on the other hand I also perceived differences in opinion driven by the Cold War. However, thanks to the development of cultural exchange in modern years, these differences are becoming less and less salient.

**Question:** At the academic conference sponsored by the National Institute of Korean History, you presented your paper on “Kando kuk-minhoe rül nonham” (Discussing the Association of Koreans in Qiantao). During this presentation did you notice the influence of the conflicting opinions you just mentioned?

**Answer:** While researching the nationalist movement, Korean researchers tended to focus on the provisional government and the independence movement of Namman (southern Manchuria) during the 1920s and, as a result, tended to downplay the importance of the Tongman (eastern Manchuria) regional movement. Even though the Tongman regional movement is mentioned in the victory at the battle of Ch’öngsanli, the significance of the combat that took place in the Wangch’öng region is ignored. I argued through my research that the center of the nationalist movement in the period 1910-20 was in the Tongman region, while the climax was the Ch’öngsanli victory. The battle of Ch’öngsanli was simultaneously waged on eastern and western fronts, and if part of the Japanese expeditionary forces had not been diverted to the western front, the situation at Ch’öngsanli on the eastern front would have been very different. With regard to the nationalist movement, my position at the time was to emphasize the integrity of the Korean nationalist movement as a whole by correcting

the tendency to bolster the provisional governments legal legitimacy while disregarding the Tongman movement and the Ch'öngsanli battle along the western front in Manchuria.

**Question:** You wrote many papers on the Korean Revolutionary Army, for example “Chosön hyökmyönggun gwa Yang Se-bong” (Yang Se-bong and the Korean Revolutionary Army). Did you have a special reason for this?

**Answer:** After the Manchurian Incident, there were the Korean Revolutionary Army in southern Manchuria and the Korean Independence Army in northern Manchuria. In the case of the Korean Independence Army, those involved returned to Korea after the liberation and thus there was an overvaluation of the Korean Independence Army in South Korea. On the other hand, the Korean Revolutionary Army, which achieved distinguished results in battles and continued fighting for independence until 1936, was almost entirely ignored. It would be a great mistake to say that this omission is due to Yang Se-bong and Kim Il-sung who have been regarded as political enemies in the South. But, Yang Se-bong was a thorough nationalist. And the Korean Revolutionary Army was a nationalist military organization, which, in alliance with Chinese nationalists and Communists, fought together and raised the level of the nationalist movement to an international anti-Japanese war. So reexamining the Korean Revolutionary Army is not simply an illumination of the identity of the nationalist movement but is useful in understanding the nationalist movements international connections.

**Question:** In researching the nationalist movement in Manchuria, you occasionally criticized the provisional governments political lines. Isn't this a defiance against the provisional governments legitimacy?

**Answer:** After the March First Movement, what the Korean people needed was an organization that could lead nationalist movement home and abroad. I don't believe the conditions at the time allowed for the establishment of a government. However, I do not mean to chastise all of the actions of the provisional government. After Yi Tong-hwi

became Prime Minister, the provisional governments political line on armed conflict allowed for the victory in the Ch' ŏngsanli battle, and I think the unified government inaugurated in 1944 was sole starting foundation for a legitimate Korean government. Because of the Cold War mentality, South Korea overvalues the provisional government, but on the other hand North Korea also similarly overestimates the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle in Manchuria.



**Question:** Speaking of the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle, some Korean researchers believe you have aided in exaggerating the historical importance of the North Korean anti-Japanese armed struggle. What do you think about this issue?

**Answer:** Not because I am a Communist, but because I am a historian first, I can only tell the truth about history. I do not believe there was anyone on the Right or Left that actually took up arms to fight as much as Kim Il-sung. I advocate making conclusions from substantive evidence. I absolutely do not engage in any smoothing over of fictions that depart from the truth.

**Question:** Korean Communists like Kim Il-sung joined the Chinese Communist Party and engaged in armed struggle. Is this not an abandoning of the Korean nationalist movement?

**Answer:** Even though Korean Communists at the time joined the Chinese Communist Party, their ultimate goal was Korean independence. In fact, strictly speaking, socialist revolution only happened after the liberation. Even until I was attending primary school, Kim Il-sung's army was singularly referred to as an independence army. At the time, the Manchu Special Committee of China was in favor of Korean Communists fighting for the independence of their motherland. This is



why the anti-Japanese Army should undoubtedly be considered as an alliance of international anti-Japanese forces in Korean history. For this reason, I am in favor of the current trend among some Korean scholars appreciation of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

**Question:** You have visited P'yŏngyang and also it is known that you are in frequent contact with North Korean scholars. What are their reactions to what you just mentioned above?

**Answer:** In North Korea, they reject the notion that Kim Il-sung participated in the anti-Japanese Alliance and claim that he founded the Korean Revolutionary Army, but I still do not consent with the North Korean interpretation of the Korean Revolutionary Army. Although the Comintern (Communist International) permitted the founding of the Korean Revolutionary Army, the sixth brigade of the second division of the Anti-Japanese Alliance that Kim Il-sung led could not constitute the Korean Revolutionary Army per se due to external circumstances. Only in areas with a Korean majority was it called the Korean Revolutionary Army, while in areas with a Chinese majority, it was still called the Anti-Japanese Alliance. However, the Association for Korean Liberation (Choguk kwangbokhoe) was an organization established solely by Koreans. The Association for Korean Liberation was an anti-Japanese organization founded to rally nationalist elements such as the Ch'ŏndogyo (a nationalist religious organization) when Kim Il-sung's army went to the Changbaek (Changbai) County area. Thus, the Association for Korean Liberation, an organization characterized by a united national front, did not receive the direction of the Chinese Communist Party and was led directly by Korean leaders from the first battalion of the Anti-Japanese Alliance.

**Question:** You have written not only about the nationalist movement but also have written many papers publicizing the crimes of the pro-Japanese forces to the public. What is your direct motivation for this?

**Answer:** One reason for my research about the Korean nationalist movement is to teach future generations with the patriotic and nationalist spirit of past martyrs. To properly restore our nation's spirit of

righteousness, we need to bring justice to the history of the pro-Japanese forces that represent the antithesis to our nations martyrs. Manchuria was the hotbed of the pro-Japanese Koreans. In truth, the pro-Japanese Koreans who used to work on behalf of the Japanese in Manchuria fled to South Korea after the liberation in fear of reprisal. However, because South Korea did not completely square away the accounts of the pro-Japanese after the liberation, I believe the historical remnants of their influence still remain today. The reason I discuss the pro-Japanese Koreans is absolutely not because of some specific individuals unpaid crimes, but rather to pluck out the roots of the toadyism that must never appear again in the history of our nation.

### **The Formation of Korean Overseas Network and the Role of Korean History**

**Question:** After starting your research, you have constantly focused on what could be generally called Korean history including the history of Chosŏnjok and their nationalist movement, and have been at the center of Korean history research in China. I am curious what the position the study of Korean history occupies within Chinese historical circles.

**Answer:** For us, Korean history is not only the history of our motherland, but also has been closely intertwined with Chosŏnjok history. However, from the Chinese perspective it is just a foreign countrys history, and as in any country, the position of a foreign countrys history depends on its relationship with, and practical importance to, a given country. In Chinese academia, the focus is on India and Japan among Asian countries; India, because it was a powerful nation in ancient civilization, and Japan, because it invaded China. Until the 1970s, historians aspiring to establish a reputation did not study Korea. During the Cold War era, Yanbian University led the study of Korean history, but it was regarded as a discipline only with regional importance in Chinese academic circles. Notably, however, after the China-Korea treaty, many universities in China are researching Korean history, due in particular to Koreas economic development. Still, Korean history is marginalized.

In order to raise its importance, Korea's national power must continue to grow and academic exchange between Korea and China must also increase.

**Question:** During 20 or so years, you have written countless numbers of articles but only a few books. What is the reason for this?

**Answer:** As everyone knows, the history of Chosŏnjok is only one part of Korean history and at this point is in its initial stage of development. Also, there are a very limited number of people who are conducting this type of research, so what reason is there to publish a book out of articles that have already been presented to a restricted audience? I believe my calling is to establish a framework for Chosŏnjok history and to identify the key issue areas. I have provided a great deal of historical material and revised manuscripts while editing dozens of edited volumes such as *Chosŏnjok paeknyŏnſa* (100 Years of Chosŏnjok History), *Chung'guk chosŏnjok yŏksa baljachwi* (Tracing the Footprints of Chosŏnjok History), and *Chosŏnjok Kyoyuksa* (History of Chosŏnjok Education). Of them, *Tracing the Footprints of Chosŏnjok History* took about 10 years of my time. The reason I did this is because the study of Chosŏnjok history is not simply an academic issue but a nationalist activity, and that the participation and effort of many people would be more effective than just one person's actions. A person pursuing individual fame or rank cannot be called a true nationalist historian. The national spirit in the history of the Chosŏnjok must be brought to light and be passed on through generations to establish the tradition of nationalist culture. For that noble work, we need to do more academic research, and to engage in the public education of our national history.

**Question:** I understand that after the liberalization reforms in China, researchers from many different countries have come to meet you. You have provided material and led research indiscriminately. Some of these researchers have gotten guidance from you for their doctoral degrees. However, some of these researchers not only do not agree with your point of view but oppose it. What do you think about this fact?

**Answer:** There must be competition among scholars. However, this

competition is one of effort, not one of hoarding material. Since the China-Korea treaty in 1992, we have been able to use lots of research findings from Korea, thus saving time and effort. At the same time, since the exchange had been cut off for such a long time before that event, material and historical documents on the independence movement within China are not well known in South Korea. Sharing our material with South Korean researchers and receiving their research results and material is, from the point of view of academic exchange, perfectly natural. Also, with respect to academic research, there should be no national or ethnic distinction. In addition to exchange with Korean senior scholars, I also share widely with young scholars. I would wish for nothing more than for them to get some hint from me to be able to conduct new research. A scholars greatest hope is that someone better will come along in the future. And also, you say some people oppose me, but that is probably because they do not agree with my point of view academically. How can there be any academic development without theoretical argument?

**Question:** After the treaty between Korea and China, the Korean government and some civil organizations are making great efforts to support Korean Studies within China. However, there are also some who are quite critical of this support. What do you think about this?

**Answer:** Taking Yanbian University as an example, almost all Korean Studies institutes in China have received aid from Korea. Such help must continue to increase in the future. However, I believe that the form of aid must be modified. Until now, a research project and its associated costs was given unilaterally, but since this method does not consider researchers initiatives and specializations, their active research skills could not develop properly. In addition, the situation arises that if research funds are cut off, the research itself must be stopped. After the intervention of the IMF at the end of 1997, and the reduction or cutting off of Korean research funding, some universities had to reduce or even terminate their Korean Studies institutions. Because the infrastructure for Korean studies research has already been established in China, what is more necessary in relative terms is active support for a centralized research system that can direct future research in China.

**Question:** In Korean age, you are already 75 years old. However, you are still a model to junior scholars with your active research. Please tell me what you plan to research in the future.

**Answer:** First, I plan to do some more elaborate research on the relationship between nationalism and communism within the nationalist movement in the 1920s. Also, I plan to publish *Chung'guk chosŏnjok t'ongsa* (A Comprehensive History of Chosŏnjok) as well as the data and materials it is based on. This history, which is in the writing stages, aims to draw a comprehensive picture of the nationalist liberation movement, including both nationalism and communism that took place within China. I believe the study of Koreans overseas will be a sure contribution to the study of modern Korean history as a whole. And as for the data compilation, it will include the material in the Library of the Chinese Communist Party, the information of Japanese intelligence agencies, and all other materials on the Chosŏnjok. I know there will be many difficulties, such as research funding, but I plan to devote rest of my life to this endeavor.

**Question:** Until now, on the basis of your devotion to the Chosŏnjok, you have conducted research and worked to aid the unification of the Korean people. In relation to this, what other work needs to be done in the future?

**Answer:** The greatest task facing our nation in the twenty first century is the cultural unification of the Korean people. Due to technological development, we possess the conditions to cultivate a common Korean culture between Korean people on the Korean peninsula, Japan, China, Russia, the U.S., and other areas around the world. However, we must escape narrow nationalism and patriotism and develop tolerance for the diversity of different ethnicities to create a new national identity of culture. Today, the concept of nation equals the concept of culture.

Including those in South and North Korea, Koreans scattered across various countries in the world still have not escaped their ideological and national limitations. To overcome such limitations, South Korea has an important role to play. South Korea must learn to tolerate the

diversity of Koreans in North Korea, China, Russia, and Japan and to use them as diplomatic missions in the internationalization of Korea. To accomplish this, while accepting their foreign citizenship, cultural investment in overseas Koreans must be expanded to prevent their assimilation into other cultures so they can remain as part of the Korean cultural sphere. What is central for an ethnic consciousness is devotion and attachment to our nations history and customs. Thus, our history is the eternal motif of culture. Today, everyone is only theorizing on economics, but economic exchange is only possible with the foundation of cultural exchange. The development of a common Korean identity will be of great benefit to Korea as well as Koreas partners in economic exchange.

**Question:** In a sense, your life represents the turbulent ups and downs experienced by the Chosŏnjok for 70 years. In conclusion, I would like to hear your own thoughts about your life.

**Answer:** Though it may sound fatalistic, I have no regrets about my life. Although I experienced Japans ethnic prejudice, went to the brink of death during war, and was imprisoned and suffered forced labor, when I look back at it now these experiences gave me a broad and diverse perspective for my research. In particular, I feel great pride for my selecting the study of Korean history and the history of the Chosŏnjok as my life calling. And personally, I have a wonderful wife and I feel gratified that my children have grown up healthy to become contributors to society. If there is anything I am unsatisfied with is that I may not have many years left to finish the research I have started.

**Question:** Thank you for valuable time and for answering my long questions. I wish you the best of health and hope that your planned research will proceed smoothly in the future.

## Chronology

1928	Born in Jilin, Yanji County, China
1935-1940	Chaoyangchuan Primary School in Yanji County
1941-1944	Jilin Sixth Provincial High School, Applied Chemistry
1947-1951	PLA 47th Battalion, Engineering Corps
1956	Completes his education in History at Yanbian University
1957-1969	Lecturer at Yanbian University
1970-1978	Exiled to rural area in the Cultural Revolution
1978-1992	Professor, Yanbian Univerisity, National Institute and School of History

## Publications

- Chung'guk chosŏnjoksa yŏn'gu* (A Study of Chosŏnjok History). Yanbian: Yanbian Univerisity Press, 1995.
- Chung'guk chosŏnjok kansa* (A Brief History of Chosŏnjok). Yanbian: Yanbian Peoples Press, 1986.
- Chosŏnjok hyŏkmyŏng yŏlsajŏn* 1-3 (Biographies of Revolutionary Chosŏnjok Patriots 1-3). Liaoning: Liaoning National Press, 1985-1990.
- Chung'guk chosŏnjok yŏksa baljachwi* 1-2 (Tracing the Footprints of Chosŏnjok History 1-2). Central National Press, 1997-1999.
- Yongdŭrech'on* (Yongdŭre Village). Yanbian: Yanbian Peoples Press, 1992.